

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 OMB-01 SAJ-01 EB-11 DRC-01 MC-02 TRSE-00 /147 W

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O R 011722Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5246

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USNMR SHAPE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, UK, XF

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SUBJECT: US-UK RELATIONS: DEBATE ON ME AND SOVIET

DETENTE CONTINUED

REF: LONDON 12669

SUMMARY: SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN AND FON SEC DOUGLAS-HOME HAD ANOTHER LONG EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN COMMONS OCTOBER 31. CALLAGHAN CRITICIZED HMG AND USG FOR NON-CONSULTATION ON US ALERT BUT CALLED FOR GREATER EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN US-UK TIES. HE EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR ISRAELI VIEWS BUT FAVORED SOLUTION OF RESOLUTION 242 TO INCLUDE DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORCE. IN CAREFULLY BALANCED REMARK HE SAID GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT YIELD TO OIL BLACKMAIL BUT NEITHER SHOULD IT ADOPT ATTITUDE OF BRAGGADOCIO AND TELL ARABS TO "DO WHAT THEY LIKE". FON SEC HOME REPLIED THAT CONSULTATION WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE IF USG HAD PROPOSED USING US FORCES IN UK WHICH HAD BEEN PLACED ON ALERT. HE DEEMED STRENGTHENING OF NATO AND OF DETENTE THE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE. END SUMMARY

1. ON LAST DAY OF FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS OCTOBER 31, LABOUR OPPOSITION SUSTAINED ITS CRITICISM OF BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS FOR ALERT OF US FORCES IN BRITAIN WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION, BUT LABOUR'S PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE MODALITIES OF A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT FAVORED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

2. SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO HEAR WITHOUT SYMPATHY THE CRY FROM ISRAEL THAT IF THE LATEST ATTACK HAD STARTED FROM THE (PRE JUNE) 1967 BORDER ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE BEEN OVERRUN IN A FEW DAYS. HE DID NOT SEE HOW ONE COULD DENY THAT. IT WAS, THEREFORE, IMPORTANT TO RECONCILE ISRAEL'S DEMAND FOR SECURITY WITH EGYPT'S FOR SOVEREIGNTY ACCORDING TO RESOLUTION 242. CALLAGHAN FAVORED DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND INSERTION OF A UN ARMED FORCE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN FORCES. NOTING THAT INVOLVEMENT OF UNSC PERMANENT MEMBERS PROBABLY NECESSARY, HE ALLIED HIMSELF WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S READINESS TO CONTRIBUTE BRITISH TROOPS TO SUCH A FORCE.

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3. CALLAGHAN SPOKE AT LENGTH ON US-UK RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID US HAD BEHAVED WITH BRUSQUENESS AND INSENSITIVITY IN ORDERING ALERT. AMERICANS SHOULD REALIZE THEY OCCUPY BASES IN BRITAIN WITH BRITISH CONSENT. THIS NOT RPT NOT A MATTER OF DIPLOMATIC COURTESY. SITUATION MAY ARISE IN WHICH SAFETY OF BRITISH PEOPLE COULD BE CALLED INTO QUESTION. HE HOPED DR. KISSINGER WILL RECOGNIZE

THAT EVENTS OF LAST WEEK CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO RECUR. PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE THAT AMERICANS MUST GIVE NOTICE TO THE UK IF THEY WISH TO USE THE BASES FOR ANY PURPOSE THAT MIGHT ENDANGER UK SAFETY, AND UK MUST BE FREE TO REFUSE THAT PERMISSION. CONFIDENCE COULD THUS BE RESTORED.

4. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT HE WISHED TO STRENGTHEN THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AND UK AND IS SURE THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WANTS TO DO THE SAME. HE SYMPATHIZED WITH DR. KISSINGER'S EXPRESSED OPINION THAT EUROPE HAD BEEN SLOW TO TAKE ACTION ON HIS PROPOSAL, MADE SIX MONTHS OR MORE AGO, FOR A NEW ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP WHOSE PURPOSE WOULD EMBRACE COMMERCIAL, POLITICAL AND DEFENSE OBJECTIVES. EEC HAD BEEN SO PREOCCUPIED WITH ITS OWN PROBLEMS THAT IT FAILED TO TAKE NOTICE OF THE EFFECT OF ITS ACTIONS ON OTHER COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY US. IT HAD

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FAILED TO TAKE DR. KISSINGER'S PROPOSITION SERIOUSLY.
IT WAS VITAL THAT ON ALL THESE MATTERS -- FUTURE OF
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NATO, CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH US COULD USE ITS OVERSEAS
BASES, DIFFERENCES ON TRADE AND MONETARY MATTERS -- THERE
SHOULD BE EARLY MEETINGS BETWEEN DR. KISSINGER AND THE
FOREIGN SECRETARY AND OTHER MINISTERS OF THE EEC.

5. PRESENT DELICATE STATE OF US-UK RELATIONS,
CALLAGHAN CONTINUED, IS GREATER THAN HE CAN REMEMBER
ANYTIME EXCEPT PERHAPS IN 1956. HE REQUESTED THE FOREIGN
SECRETARY TO TAKE UP SUGGESTION OF CLOSER CONTACTS AND
CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS AND
MEMBERS OF THE US SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

6. CALLAGHAN SAID, DESPITE TEMPORARY RIFT IN US-EUROPEAN
RELATIONS, POLICY OF DETENTE BETWEEN US AND SOVIET UNION
SEEMS TO HAVE SURVIVED. IN VIEW OF HEAVY BURDEN OF ARMS
TO UK, AND TO OTHERS INCLUDING THE SUPER POWERS, HE
THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO EXPLORE THE SOVIET READINESS FOR
A NEGOTIATED REDUCTION IN THE ARMS BURDEN. HIS OWN
INQUIRIES OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN LONDON HAD PRODUCED
A NOTE STATING SOVIET POSITION THAT NONE OF THE PARTICI-
PATING COUNTRIES SHOULD GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE AT
EXPENSE OF OTHERS AND ANY FUTURE REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT
UPSET EXISTING BALANCE OF STRENGTH IN EUROPE. THIS DID
NOT SEEM TO ALTER THE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED RUSSIAN VIEW.
CALLAGHAN OF OPINION THAT A PERCENTAGE REDUCTION WOULD BE
BETTER THAN NO REDUCTION AT ALL. SOVIET UNION WOULD BE
EXTREMELY SHORTSIGHTED -- AND CALLAGHAN SAW NO SIGNS OF
THIS -- IF IT RELIED ON CONFLICT WITHIN NATO ALLIANCE
LEADING TO UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS.

7. PARADOXICALLY, CALLAGHAN SAID, THE RECENT CONFLICT COULD LEAD TO A MORE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT THAN HAD SEEMED POSSIBLE IN MIDDLE EAST AT ANY TIME SINCE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL. ALSO, PARADOXICALLY, IT COULD BE THAT AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT WAS NEARER AS RESULT OF PAST FEW WEEKS THAN IT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN.

8. FINALLY, CALLAGHAN SAID, HE HOPED BRITAIN WOULD NOT YIELD TO OIL BLACKMAIL. GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BECOME A BRAGGADOCIO AND TELL THE OIL NATIONS "DO WHAT YOU LIKE". OIL WEAPONS USED BY ARAB STATES WOULD RECOIL.
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9. IN HIS OWN BRIEF REMARKS, FOREIGN SECRETARY DOUGLASHOME STUCK BY HIS POSITION THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO US PROPOSAL TO USE US FORCES IN BRITAIN DURING ITS ALERT. IF THERE HAD BEEN A PROPOSAL THAT THEY BE USED FROM THE UK, CONSULTATION WOULD HAVE HAD TO TAKE PLACE AND US COULD NOT HAVE DONE ANYTHING WITHOUT UK CONSENT. MERE ALERT CARRIED NO RPT NO OBLIGATION TO DISCUSS MATTER WITH US ALLIES. THE SITUATION WAS OBVIOUSLY CRITICAL AND FAILURE OF DETENTE HAD HUNG IN BALANCE. THERE WAS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE USSR AND US REGARDED MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AS AN OBSTACLE TOWARDS FURTHER PROGRESS OF DETENTE. ANY JUDGMENT MUST BE TENTATIVE. IN EUROPE NOTHING HAD HAPPENED WHICH WOULD WEAKEN RESOLVE TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT DETENTE. HE WAS GOING TO MOSCOW ON DECEMBER 2 FOR A FEW DAYS AND WOULD DISCUSS DETENTE AND MIDDLE EAST AMONG OTHER ISSUES WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN INTERESTS WOULD NOT ALWAYS BE IDENTICAL ON EVERY ISSUE. MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAD A PROFOUND COMMON INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL AND LASTING MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT AND MUST WORK TOGETHER TO TRY TO ACHIEVE IT. NO MEMBER HAD A MONOPOLY OF WISDOM, POWER OR INFLUENCE IN THIS RESPECT. HE SAW NO CAUSE FOR FRICTION IN UK-US RELATIONS. CONSULTATION HAD BEEN, AND REMAINED, VERY FULL AND US HAD MADE VITAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A CEASEFIRE. MEMBERS OF NATO HAD AN OVERRIDING INTEREST IN MAINTAINING THE ALLIANCE IN GOOD REPAIR.

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